

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BANGKO 13888 241146Z  
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ONY-00 AS-01 /011 W  
-----073710 241337Z /46 R  
R 241005Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3593

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FOR ASST SECRETARY HOLBROOKE FROM AMBASSADOR

EO 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PSDC  
SUBJ: SECRETARY'S ASIA SOCIETY SPEECH

REF: STATE 144682

1. EMBASSY CONSIDERS DRAFT EXCELLENT EXPOSITION OF BASIC  
CONTINUITIES U.S. ASIA POLICY AS WELL AS NEW EMPHASES AT A TIME  
WHEN EVOLVING RELATIONSHIPS AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES ARE PUZZLING  
SOME OF OUR FRIENDS.

2. A FEW SPECIFIC COMMENTS:

A) PARA 13. THIS APPEARS TO BE SOMEWHAT GRATUITOUS, AND NOT  
ENTIRELY ACCURATE HISTORICALLY. WE WOULD SUGGEST DELETION, OR  
ELSE SUBSTITUTING SOMETHING ALONG LINES OF:

"MOST OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA HAVE BEGUN TO DEVELOP  
NEW RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THEM BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL  
SOVEREIGNTY AND SHARED INTERESTS."

B) PARA 36-39. THIS SECTION MIGHT BE INTERPRETED HERE AS ADVOCATING  
A ROLE FOR JAPAN AS U.S. SURROGATE. SUGGESTED CHANGE: "OUR CLOSE  
AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY  
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IS A MAJOR SOURCE OF POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT  
AFFECTING ALL OF ASIA AND THE WORLD BEYOND.

"FOR EXAMPLE, DYNAMIC ECONOMIC GROWTH IN BOTH OUR COUNTRIES  
CARRIES ENORMOUS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE REST OF ASIA, THROUGH  
ECONOMIC STIMULUS AND PROVIDING GROWING MARKETS FOR EXPORTS.  
CONTINUING AND GROWING ACCESS TO THE MARKETS OF JAPAN AND AMERICA

WILL FURNISH AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT FOR PROSPERITY, NOT ONLY FOR THE COUNTRIES OF EAST ASIA BUT FOR OUR TRADING PARTNERS IN THE REST OF THE WORLD AS WELL.

"OUR EFFORTS IN THESE AREAS WILL BE BASED ON CLOSE CONSULTATION AND THE SEARCH FOR DEEPER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING."

C) PARA 67-75. ALTHOUGH THE DRAFT POSITS FIVE "UNDERSTANDINGS," VERY LITTLE IS SAID ABOUT THE FIRST TWO, CONCERNING U.S. AS A PACIFIC POWER AND HOW THE U.S. INTENDS TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE AREA. THE FOURTH "UNDERSTANDING," CONCERNING TRADE, INVESTMENT, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, TENDS TO PREDOMINATE OVER THE OTHER MAIN POINTS. WE WOULD SUGGEST A CONSOLIDATION OF THE ECONOMIC POINTS WHICH APPEAR THROUGHOUT THE DRAFT AND WHICH ARE CONCENTRATED IN PARAS 67-75, AND ADDITIONAL EXPOSITION ON THE FIRST TWO "UNDERSTANDINGS."

D) PARA 82. THIS SECTION DOES NOT ADEQUATELY DEAL WITH DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS BASED ON CULTURAL, HISTORICAL, AND SOCIAL FACTORS. AS WRITTEN, THE SECTION COULD BE INTERPRETED AS BEING ADDRESSED TO VIETNAM, WHICH WE DOUBT WAS THE INTENTION.

SUGGESTED CHANGE: WE ARE AWARE OF THE DIFFERENCES OF CULTURE, RELIGION, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION THAT MUST BE PART OF ANY CONSIDERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE ARE ESPECIALLY MINDFUL OF THE DETERMINATION OF EACH ASIAN COUNTRY TO WORK OUT ITS OWN POLICIES IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ACCORDANCE WITH ITS OWN CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS. WE ALSO UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR NATIONS TO ACHIEVE A LEVEL OF SECURITY AND STABILITY THAT WILL PERMIT THE INSTITUTIONS OF MODERN GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP IN A HEALTHY MANNER. IN THIS CONTEXT, EMPHASES VARY FROM ONE COUNTRY TO THE NEXT. OUR HERITAGE, FOR EXAMPLE, STRESSES THE RIGHTS AND WELFARE OF THE INDIVIDUAL. OTHER SOCIETIES SEE INDIVIDUALISM AS SYNONYM FOR SELFISHNESS AND STRESS THE WELFARE OF THE GROUP AS A WHOLE. SOME COUNTRIES RETAIN AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL FORMS BUT BECAUSE OF RELIGIONS AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES TOLERATE CONSIDERABLE DIVERSITY AND EXPRESSION OUTSIDE THE POLITICAL SPHERE. SO IT IS WITH AWARENESS OF AND RESPECT FOR THE DIVERSITY OF MAN'S BELIEFS AND PERCEPTIONS THAT WE APPROACH THE VITAL ISSUE OF WORKING TO EXTEND THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL MEN. WHITEHOUSE

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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
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